From the New-York Evening Post.

Project of France as to Louisiana, &c.

[CONTINUED.]

The writer next describes the value of those articles of luxury, now become necessary to the comfort and pleasure of the people in every quarter of the globe, to wit: Sugar, coffee and Cotton. Of the latter he thus speaks:

"The most beautiful production in nature is cotton. It was more than the caprice of fashion that went to the extremities of the east in search of this material, for there is none capable of a greater number of uses, of so many forms and such various colors. Its texture may constitute the lightest and most beautiful of ornaments, or the best defence against the intemperature of the air.

"The nations of the east have used it immemorially, and from them has it gradually been brought to Europe. The use of it seems to have been limited by nothing but the power of procuring it. Like sugar, the use of it has increased since it has been naturalized to the soil of America. The consumption has, in like manner, been eager to outrun the supply.

"The American states have of late become sensible of the value of the commerce in cotton, and their success supplies us with a new example, and a powerful inducement to appropriate the territory of the Mississippi to the same culture.

"In this, as in other articles, we have to struggle with competition, only in relation to foreign markets. The home market is inexhaustibly abundant, and may be all her own. All competition may be excluded *hence*, if not by salutary regulations yet by the superior excellence and cheapness of the article, and the cotton that shall clothe thirty millions, will require numerous hands to grow and to manufacture it. Who shall count the number of these hands, or of those which shall be employed in supplying the *growers* of cotton with all the conveniencies and luxuries of Europe. What limit shall we fix to the increase of wealth and numbers, which will thus be accumulated and multiplied on both sides of the ocean?

"Sugar, coffee and tobacco are luxuries. Cotton will admit of an imperfect substitute in the homely productions, the flax and hemp of our own soil, but the inestimable good which recommends this acquisition, is, that it affords a granary whence all deficiencies of the parent country can be supplied.

"One of the benefits of extensive empire, consists in its lessening the danger of famine. This, however, is, in truth, one of the effects of extensive commerce, by which any occasional scarcity in one province, is immediately supplied by the superabundance of another. As the rigors of season are unequal in extent, this benefit is unequal on different occasions; but the commercial chain that binds together Europe and America, has supplied the surest antidote to this evil, which is compatible with the dimensions of this globe. The causes that modify the seasons and produce scarcity, may possibly extend from Sweden to Sicily, from Courland to Normandy, but they are not likely to operate, at the same time, in both hemispheres. The causes that are thus extensive, will equally affect the whole globe. This is one of the hitherto unmentioned benefits of the colonization of America. This benefit will be more extensively secured by the plantation of the Mississippi. The advantage of receiving this supply, and of imparting it will be secured to France, and the calamities of one part of the empire, will redound to the profit of another part; instead of enriching, as at present, strangers or enemies.

"I will not pretend to explain, what are so generally understood, as the causes of population. The country gives food to the town. The town repays the country in works of art. The number of townsmen increases with the surplus with the surplus product of the country. The series being once begun, each acts, by turns, as a cause and effect. The town grows because the country grows. The country increases because the town increases. It matters not whether the town and country, connected by this mutual influence, be near or remote from each other, provided they can easily communicate.—Thus the advancement of cultivation in America, adds numbers, by finding them employment, to Birmingham and Liverpool. Thus the Loire and Garonne will flow among more flourishing farms, numerous villages and crouded cities, in consequence of new men springing up, and new harvests waving on the Mississippi and Missouri. As the American colonies advance, France itself grows more rich and more populous. The products of her art and labor will purchase food from her colonists. The products of colonial tillage, will purchase her art and her labor. The perfection of navigation will create a bridge over the sea, and the chain of mutual dependence will bind them together, faster than a chain of fortresses.

"In every civilized nation, there must be a certain proportion of wretchedness and proverty; of men whom the pressure of distress compels to great and an anxious efforts to improve their condition. To favor these efforts is the end of all gdod government; to promote *equality* without detriment to *order* is the great political secret. The obvious and most eligible means for effecting this is not by agrarian schemes subversive of established property, but by appropriating new ground, and distributing it among the needy. Nor ought this distribution to be by the direct and entire agency of government. To ascertain the limits of the new province; to divide it into convenient portions, to set on each portion a moderate price; to subject the tenure to easy conditions; thoroughly to apprize the world of this price and these conditions; to instruct those whose inducements to emigrate are strongest, in the benefits of emigration, to facilitate their voyage and settlement; to defend them in their new possessions by wise laws and prudent treaties, are the only duties incumbent on the government, and such as are easily performed."

The obstacles to this enterprize are next considered. Spain, humbled as she is under France, offers but a feeble barrier.—England may oppose more serious and powerful obstacles.

"Will they [the English] suffer France to possess herself of the most effectual means of prosecuting future wars to a different issue? Their navy and their commerce are, at present, all their trust.—France may add Italy and Germany to her dominions with less detriment to England, than would follow from her acquisition of a navy, and the extension of her trade. Whatever gives colonies to France supplies her with ships and sailors, manufacturers and husbandmen. Victories by land can only give her mutinous subjects. who, instead of augmenting the national force by their riches or numbers, contribute only to disperse and enfeeble that force; but the growth of colonies supplies her with zealous citizens, and the increase of real wealth and effective numbers is the certain consequence.

"What could Germany, Italy, Spain and France, combining their strength, perform against England? They might assemble in millions on the shores of the channel, but *there* would be the limit of their enmity. Without ships to carry them over, without experienced mariners to navigate those ships, England would only deride the pompous preparation. The moment we leave the shore her fleets are ready to pounce in upon us; to disperse and destroy our ineffectual armaments. *There* lies *their* security; in their insular situation, and their navy, consists their impregnable defence. Their navy is in every respect the offspring of their trade. To rob them of that, therefore, is to beat down their last wall and fill up their last moat. To gain it to ourselves, is to enable us to take advantage of their deserted and defenceless borders, and to complete the humiliation of our only remaining competitor.

"The trade which enriches England, lies chiefly in the products of foreign climates. But her Indian territories produce nothing which the Mississippi could not as easily produce. The Ganges fertilizes a valley less extensive. Its Deltas as well as those of the Nile, are in the same latitudes, and these rivers generate the same exuberant soil, only in smaller space and in less quantities than the great Western Nile; but the Mississippi comprehends, in its bosom, the regions of the temperate zone as well as the tropical climates and products. The arctic circle in America, will be equally accessible to us as to them. Our ancient possessions in Canada will in due season return to us of their own accord; and, meanwhile, a double portion of anxiety, and double provision of forts and garrisons, will fall to the lot of the usurping English. The progress of the French will expose their islands, first to be excluded from the markets of Europe, and next to be swallowed up by military power. At present, the protector and the enemy are at equal distance, but then there will only be a narrow frith between the invaders and the objects they covet, while the defenders will be, as now, afar off; neither apprized of our designs nor able to defeat them.

"This nation could not bury itelf in a more inaccessible fortress than this valley. The mouths of this river, as to all the attacks by sea, are better than the bastions of Malta. All around the entrance is impassable to men and horses, and the great channel is already barred by forts, easily extended and improved. Far better would it be for the English to divert our attention from this quarter, by the sacrifice of Valetta or Gibraltar!

"Can we imagine the English, so vigilant, so prudent in all affairs connected with their maritime empire, so quick in their suspicions, so prompt in their precautions, can be blind to the dangers with which this cession will menace them? No defeats or humiliations short of the conquest of their island will make them acquiesce in such arrangements.

"It is contrary to all probability that either Spain or England will be tractable on this occasion; but if the danger by being distant is invisible to them, or if the present evils arising to England from continuance of the war, or to Spain from the resentment of the French government, should outweigh in their apprehensions all future evils, and prevail on one to grant and the other to connive at the grant, by what arguments, by what promises, by what threats, by what hostile efforts shall we extort the consent of the American states? How shall we prevail on them to alienate the most valuable portion of their territory; *to admit into their vitals a formidable and active people, whose interests are incompatible in every point with their own; whose interprises will inevitably interfere and jar with theirs; whose neighborhood will cramp all their movements: circumscribe their future progress to narrow and ignominious bounds; and make incessant inroads on their harmony and independence?*

"Of Spain they have no reason to entertain any fears or suspicions. She is a harmless and a useful neighbor. The colony that owns her sway must forever stand still. All is imbecility and torpor, where her influence is felt. The western regions are at present an empty house, of which the states, whenever it is perfectly convenient, may take a quiet possession. Meanwhile the rights of the present crazy old lord are very serviceable to the future claimants, since they exclude those nations of Europe, who, ardent with youth and ambition; who would be inclined to take effectual possession, and would prove restless and dangerous neighbors.

"The states acquiesce in the title of Spain only on those politic principles. They tolerate her claims only as far as their convenience has dictated. All the eastern part of this great valley they have already taken to themselves, and are proceeding with incredible rapidity to cover it with farms and villages. Such is the extent of this region, however, that some years must elapse before it can be fully appropriated. Meanwhile it is no one's interest to cross the river. The opposite dales may be resigned for a time to the reign of nature, to the helpless savages, who will sell it when wanted for blankets and rum, or what is better, to the nominal authority of Spain: for this authority will never stand in their way when they chuse to pass or descend the river, and will, meanwhile, divert to other channels the ambition and the enterprize of France, England and Holland.

"The tenants of this valley find already the passage of the river indispensable to their existence. Their surplus produce cannot be consumed at home, and this is the only outlet to the ocean, by which it can be sent abroad, and exchanged for something which they *can* consume. The Spaniards are stationed at the mouth, and govern the passage of the river, but they must not dare to intercept this passage. They must grant free ingress and egress to the ships of the states; and as the vessels that bring down the produce of the country, are unfit for the broad sea, they must allow their town of New-Orleans, to be a warehouse, to which the *river-boats* may bring and deposit their cargoes, and whence the *sea-boats*, from the Atlantic states, may carry it away at their leisure. And this communication must be free from all restraints; all impediments; all customs; unless a scanty rent for the quays, at which the vessels unload, may deserve that name.

"On these conditions will they allow Spain to domineer on this river. Their present wants require no more than a thorough-fare, to their eastern harbors; to the islands and to Europe; but *this* they must have. When more is wanted than the privilege of passing up and down the stream, Spain must grant more or lose all. For Spain in this quarter of the world, is powerless She exists here by the sanctity of treaties, and the contempt and convenience of her neighbors. *Should she dare to obstruct the river, or to levy on the passengers, her empire would vanish like smoke. The hardy warriors of the upper country would fall down upon her like lightning, and her feeble garrisons, unsupported by her subjects, (for these are aliens to Spain) would be swept away by the first torrent.*

"The American states are fully apprised of all this. They know the advantage of the neighbor they have, and can they be unacquainted with the spirit of Frenchmen? Can they have already forgotten the panic and dangers which encompassed them, when the enterprising genius of France pressed upon them in former times, from this very quarter and from Canada? Their own force was unable to defend them. Numerous succors from England were requisite to drive the invaders beyond the mountains which separate the Mississippi valley, and the Atlantic colonies. They are no strangers to the progress of the French, since that period in numbers and arts; to the energy, with which the power of the nation is now wielded by a single hand; to the force with which it will overflow, when only one outlet is afforded—And this will be the only outlet!"

The counsellor next proceeds to answer all the objections to the scheme of gaining Louisiana, drawn from the power and disposition of the United States; by describing the fickle and narrow views of our rulers; the discordant and unwieldly machinery of a federal government; the mixture of different races of people, of freemen and slaves; the infancy of our institutions, not yet free of the influence of European prejudices, passions and interests; the mercenery disposition of the people, their love of gain, of commercial security and quiet, the want of those great principles of virtue and patrotism which prompt men to make a sacrifice of their private interests to the good of their country. This picture so humiliating to our national character might be expected from the confidential advis r of an ambitious chief, who hates the English and despises the Americans, who seem to be placed by nature, independent almost of their own volition, in the way of his gigantic plans for the aggrandizement of France. From this picture, true or false, it is inferred that the United States will not go to war to secure a distant good, even should their true interest dictate such a measure. Should it prove otherwise, "their opposition, like that of England, *whatever efficacy it might have when seasonably exerted, will come too late.*" The important cession will be "known to America, as it will be to Europe, only by its execution."

[*To be continued.*]

The Subscribers

HAVE concluded on, and mutually consent to the dissolution of their partnership, with the expiration of this day. All persons indebted to said firm are requested to pay and settle with either of the subscribers; and all those who may stand indebted, will please to exhibit their claims for payment, on or before the 1st day of March next.

JOHN MUNNIKHUYSEN,
JOHN E. DORSEY.

January 31. (Feb. 1) co3t

Congress of the United States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, February 2, 1803.

The committee to whom were referred memorials from citizens of Washington and Alexandria, were authorised to report by bill or otherwise on such alterations, as may in their opinion be deemed proper in the act for the government of the district of Columbia.

The house took up the amendments of the committee of the whole to the bill respecting consuls, vice-consuls, &c.

After agreeing to the amendments, and making other amendments. the house ordered the bill to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

The house went into committee of the whole on the bill making provision for persons who have received known wounds in the revolutionary war. Mr. Varnum in the chair.

A conversation took place between Messrs. Griswold, Helms, Eustis, Macon and Elmer on the adequacy of the provisions of the bill to the cases for which it was provided; when, on motion of Mr. Eustis, the committee rose and reported progress; the house refused them leave to sit again, and recommitted the bill to the select committee that introduced it.

Mr. Hill called for the order of the day on the bill to prohibit the importation of certain persons, &c.

When Mr. Bayard requested the gentleman to wave his call for one moment, to enable the house to take his resolution respecting French spoliations, laid some days since on the table, into consideration for the sole purpose of giving it a proper disposition. His object some days since when he called it up, was to have it referred to a committee of the whole house, not to urge its discussion on that day. His object was now the same, and his sole wish was that it should be referred, and a day named for its consideration. As, however, said Mr. Bayard, it may be voted down now, as it then was, without any reasons being assigned, gentlemen will excuse me for calling the yeas and nays. I hope gentlemen will so far at least comply with the forms of justice as to suffer the case to be considered, whatever may be their ultimate decision upon it.

Mr. Randolph said he would ask the gentleman from Delaware, whether he had seen any indisposition in that house to discuss the subject. For his part he had seen none, either in the house or in any individual member. He felt no objection to take up the subject at any time, and to discuss, or rather hear the gentleman from Delaware discuss it. He hoped, therefore, the gentleman would not persist in taking up the time of the house by calling the yeas and nays.

Mr. Bayard said he had seen an indisposition in the house to discuss the subject; and the reason why the gentleman from Virginia had not seen it, was that he was not in his place on the day he had before moved the resolution should be taken up. Had he been in his place, he would have seen that a motion to take it into consideration had been rejected without a single reason being assigned. But under the assurance of the gentleman that there was no aversion to consider the subject, he would wave his call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Randolph said he spoke only for himself.

Mr. Bayard replied that he then persisted in the call.

The yeas and nays were then taken on taking up the resolution; and were yeas 65—nays 26—as follow:

YEAS—Messrs. Alston, Bacon, Bailey, Bayard, Bishop, Boude, Bowie, Brent, Brown, Campbell, Cutler, Dana, Davenport, Dawson, Dennis, Dickson, Early, Elmendorf, Elmer, Eustis, Foster, Goddard. Gregg, Griswold, Grove, Hastings, D. Heister, Hemphill, Henderson, Hill, Holmes, Huger, Hunt, Lowndes, Mattoon, Moore, L. R. Morris, T. Morris, New, Newton, jun. Perkins, Plater, Randolph, jun. Read, Rutledge, Shepard, J. C. Smith, Josiah Smith, Southard, Stanley, Stewart, Stanton, Taliaferro, jun. Tallmage, Tenney, Thatcher, Thomas, Tillinghast, Thompson, Upham, Varnum, Van Horne, Wadsworth, L. Williams, Wynns—65.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archer, Butler, Cabell, Clay, Clopton, Condit, Davis, Gray, Hanna, J. Heister, Helms, Hoge, Holland, Leib, Meriwether, Mott, Smilie, Israel Smith, J. Smith, N. Y. J. Smith, Virg. Stanford, Stratton, A. Trigg, Van Cortlandt, R. Williams, Winn.—26.

The resolution was referred to the committee of the whole without opposition.

When Mr. Bayard moved that it be made the order for Monday next.

Mr. R. Williams moved the 3d of March.

Mr. Gregg thought it was best to take the resolution up fairly and decide it at once.

Mr. R. Williams said he was willing to meet it fairly; but he thought one day sufficient for the investigation.

[*To be continued.*]

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The Memorial of the chamber of commerce of the city of New-York, respectfully shews,

That your memorialists view with much alarm the renewal of an attempt to repeal the acts making discrimination between American and foreign duties on imports and tonnage, and pray leave to submit to the consideration of congress the following objections:

First. It will diminish the revenue to an amount, which taking past years as the guide, would not be less than 450,000 dollars per annum.

Secondly. It will essentially injure the commerce of the United States, as its effect will be by opening the market for freight to the lowest bidder, to shift the carrying trade from the hands of our own merchants into those of foreigners. This, your memorialsts believe, will appear from the following considerations:

First. Foreigners build their vessels much cheaper than we can do. From actual calculation, it is found that a vessel built of European oak, and equal to those built of our live oak, (which besides nearly exhausted) costs, when equipped for sea, at the rate of 36 dollars 25 cents per ton; and if built in Finland, of their fir, of which they have abundance, equal in duration to our common oak, and fitted for sea in the same manner, she will cost at the rate of 19 dollars per ton; while the American vessels, built of our common oak, and not so well equipped, will cost at the rate of from 40 to 45 dollars per ton; but if built of live oak and cedar, she will cost at the rate of from 50 to 55 dollars per ton.

Secondly. The materials composing equipment, such as iron, hemp, sail cloth, &c. are all cheaper abroad than they are here, and the price of labor for working them is supposed to be 50 per cent. less there than in the United States.

Thirdly. Foreigners navigate cheaper. Seamen's wages are lower, and many of their crews consist of apprentices without wages. The apprentice act of Great-Britain renders it incumbent on every owner or master of a vessel to take with him a certain number of apprentices, and this they find so advantageous, that they frequently double or treble that number; more especially vessels from the north of England. Every merchant engaged in commerce, knows that the Hollanders, Hamburghers, Danes, Swedes, &c. man their vessels with a still greater proportion of apprentices; and in the cheapness of their living, cloathing, &c. they have a very material advantage over the vessels of the United States.

Thus it appears that foreigners can build cheaper and sail their vessels cheaper than we can; and it may be added, that Europeans are generally satisfied with a less gain than the American merchant can afford to receive.

Lastly, although it has been said that for us to meet the advance on the part of Great-Britain, and to repeal our countervailing acts, would place the two nations on an equal footing, yet your memorialists conceive that while Great-Britain retains her present navigation act, this would be very wide of the truth. We on our part should thus permit Great-Britain to bring hither not only goods the growth or manufacture of that country, but of all others, while on her part, by the navigation act we have just referred to, we shall be expresly confined to the carriage of goods the growth or manufacture of the United States. To this may be added, that British vessels would then bring a cargo from their own country to this; take a freight here to their colonies, where our vessels are not admitted, and from thence a third freight home, making thus three freights in one voyage. The value of the importation cargoes is so much greater that the value of our exportation dutiable cargoes that the extra duties paid by the foreigner are, in many cases equal, and in some cases more than equal, to the whole freight, so that the acts which are now proposed to be abolished, operate nearly as a prohibition to the foreigner, and leave us, in a manner, without competitors in our own market.

After all that has been said, it hardly needs to be added, that if our ports are thrown open to foreign on the same terms with our own vessels, as by this repeal is contemplated, (for it is in vain to attempt to confine the measure to the British) they will croud our wharves, underbid our freight, monopolize the markets, and leave the American vessels idly to rot in our docks. Your memorialists have, therefore, no hesitation in declaring, that in their opinion this measure will be a fatal blow to the American carrying trade.

It would be easy to shew in the detail, that this would in its consequences, prove extremely injurious to the agricultural and the mechanical classes of our citizens. A few general observations only will be indulged.

First—As to the agricultural.

Although, generally speaking, freight is paid by the consumer, and therefore it may be said it is immateral to the farmer how high or how low it may be, yet this is not the case when the demand ceases or slackens; it then falls back on the husbandman. But to transfer our carrying trade to foreigners, will be to lessen very much the chance of the demand. The active enterprize of the American merchant is constantly looking abroad to every part of the world for a market, and if it is any where to be found, or if there is only a reasonable presumption that it may be found, the farmer meets with a ready vent for his produce. Perhaps the calculations of the merchant may be disappointed, and he even ruined; yet the misfortune reaches not the farmer, he has the same benefit of a good market. But should the American vessels once disappear, he must then lie entirely at the mercy of chance-adventurers for a market; and when the demand is not very great, the price of the freight will be deducted from the article itself. All this must necessarily tend essentially to lessen the value of the farmer's produce.

Secondly. As to the mechanics.

That numerous class of mechanics who are connected with ship building; the car-